

*Democracy in Education**Education for Democracy*

# *The* American Teacher

THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

"Believing, as I do, that the freedom of learning is the vital breath of democracy and progress, I trust that a recognition of its supreme importance will direct the hand of power and that our public schools and state universities may enjoy the priceless advantages of courses of instruction designed to promote the acquisition of all knowledge and may be placed under no restrictions to prevent it; and that our teachers may be encouraged to know and to teach the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. This is the path of salvation of men and democracy."

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES,  
Before the American Bar Association.

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## THE GUERDON AND THE QUEST

MARGUERITE WILKINSON

*For many generations men have lauded Victory;  
Let us now, rather, rejoice in the struggle that goes before a victory,  
For success is only a tardy recognition of long battles fought bravely  
and without recognition,  
And fame is but a toy to those who win it.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*What if we have not won? What if the end is far away?  
Our days of triumph are not the greatest days.  
These days of toil and need and travail, when the old wrongs oppress  
us, may be greater still.  
For, if the spirit of a righteous struggle abide in our hearts now, it is  
enough.  
The guerdon is not so much as the quest, and the quest is ours today.*

## WHY ORGANIZE?

## Here's What Uncle Sam Says:

*"The average government salary of 1919 showed an increase over 1915 of nearly 16 per cent; . . . RATES FOR RAILROAD EMPLOYEES, 97 PER CENT . . . the greater part of the increase shown was received while the roads were under federal control. The rise in the cost of living could not affect the railroad worker more than it did the other government employees—But the railroad men were strongly organized.*

*"The advances (in government salaries) have never been proportioned to the increased cost of living except in the one case of the railroad employees' advances. HERE THE GOVERNMENT WAS DEALING WITH A STRONGLY ORGANIZED BODY."—From Monthly Labor Review of U. S. Department of Labor, June, 1920.*

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# The American Teacher

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## The Needs and Tendencies of Democratic Education

JOHN E. KIRKPATRICK

*Address Before the Eleventh Convention of the American Federation of Teachers*

Our topic assumes that we already have democratic education. The speaker assumes that we do not now have democratic education. He assumes that what we now have in our public and private schools, for far the most part, is not education at all,—only discipline and instruction; that what we now have is mass schooling in the interest of the *status quo*. The speaker is not assigning blame or seeking for the causes of present conditions. He is seeking only to define democratic education, to indicate the changes necessary to bring about democratic education, and to notice a few of the tendencies which seem to look in the direction of such education.

With us, the proud and prosperous people of these United States, the school has become an end in itself. Schools, we think, like nurseries, are the natural places for children, adolescents, youths and even for some, many, young adults. With us schools are not merely accessory. They are primary. They are not merely aids to life, they are life to a vast proportion of our population. Free and universal education has become our national religion. We have now a mystical faith in our schools as once we had in a free church, then in a free state and again in a free and universal ballot. We believe in free education so strongly that we make it legally compulsory for everybody up to 14, 16, even 18 years of age and socially compulsory up to 22 and even longer for those who can afford it.

The speaker fears that we are indulging ourselves in a huge make-believe about our educational enterprises. We spend so much on them, we boast so much about them that we compel ourselves to believe we are somehow making a better, a wiser and a happier people and society. When we are worried about our ramshackle social order, our unjust economic system, our mediocre political leaders, or our anarchistic world society, we take refuge in talk about our educational system and what it will do for the future. We must believe in it. It is our latest, our current popular superstition. But some

there are among us, an increasing number and of a quality not to be lightly ignored, who remind us that this high faith of ours is like building skyscrapers on sand, that by trusting so much to schools, by thrusting so much on them, such as they are, we are inviting disaster.

Indeed, there has developed more than a mere tendency to criticize our school system. There is a veritable avalanche of criticism descending from some quarters upon our devoted parental and pedagogic heads. It is being pointed out that we remain indifferent to great social evils, blindly expecting "education" to cure them, while at the same time we insist that our schools turn out a standardized product, good republicans, good democrats, good churchmen, good rotarians like ourselves. It is charged that we sentence our children to day nurseries called schools and our youth to places of public spectacles called colleges because our communities are not safe for them; that we try to establish in the midst of our urban welter of trade and traffic, education safety zones.

Just at present our colleges are being vigorously attacked. It is being asked, "How much more are they than public arenas for our Olympian rites, play things for our new and idle rich, degree shops, a sort of glorified canning factory, rendezvous for academic lame ducks too timid to face real life. A dean of men ventures to hint, anonymously, of course, that they are parlors for perpetual petting parties, matrimonial bureaus." He asserts that they are day nurseries for the young hopes of well-to-do parents, who thus far have employed schools and camps and still have need of the nursery for their progeny. Now, obviously, our colleges are something more than the sum total of all these useful and varied social activities, but how much more, no informed person would venture to say. In such perplexity, it may be time to redefine education.

Venturing then to say what democratic education is we would suggest that first it will give the essen-



tial tools of life to the entire population at the least possible cost of time and effort. Democratic education will concern itself but little with the maintenance of the *status quo*, but much with the *status futurus*. It will aim to develop in the entire citizenship a curious and critical attitude toward the completed past, an alert and open minded attitude toward the unrealized future. To attain these ends democratic education will devote its energies to a study of the life situations and problems of its students rather than to text books dealing with departmental subjects such as history and mathematics.

First, then, the business of the common schools is just what our pioneer ancestors thought it was and nothing more, to put all citizens in possession of "the three R's." Perhaps there are now more than three R's and some of them may be more intricate, but the essential tools of life do not change much. Our fathers thought three months out of the twelve quite long enough for this purpose, and they did not think of compelling every one to attend for even that brief time. Now, although we have discovered by means of a few "progressive" and adult schools, that the three R's can be picked up very quickly, when children or adults discover the need for the said R's, we still hold to the theory, and practice, which assumes that all of the R's must not only be gotten, but also practiced in schools if ever they are to be possessed by our citizenry. We have developed a school complex, we are afflicted with schoolitis. We act as if all information, learning, education, even culture must be gotten in schools.

Our fathers were not so naive. They thought the place to learn life, to acquire knowledge, culture and refinement, was by living life in the home, in the church, in the community and in the world of their day. Now we assume that these powers and virtues are not only to be gained in school, but that for a very considerable portion of an individual's life, they are to be practiced only in school. We forget, or we do not believe, what our mutual friend, Joseph K. Hart, has been saying of late, that education cannot begin, with us, until schooling is over, and that we are the best schooled and the most poorly educated people in the world today. May it not be true that our truancy laws, our driving class room methods, our vast expenditures and efforts, indicate that there is a dry rot at the heart of our system which makes education by means of it impossible?

Democratic education, then, demands that schooling be less prolonged, less detailed, less obligatory.

Education can prove itself only in the shop, the home, the state. The Russians are wise in giving no credits or degrees to their students until they have proved themselves at work. As for tendencies in this direction in this country, they are too numerous even to mention here. Witness the Antioch and University of Cincinnati examples, now being widely copied, the continuation schools in many cities. Witness also the many trade schools, like that of Henry Ford, which has been discovered by a Yale professor who dares to say that the boys in this school do as much class room work in the one week out of three as high school students do in three weeks. When a Yale professor sees this, especially when he ventures to say it publicly, the time may be near at hand when we will all begin to believe it.

In the second place, democratic education needs to be much less concerned than it now is about the *status quo*. We roundly denounced the Germans for using their schools to uphold their pre-war system, now we piously proclaim the duty of the schools to teach patriotism and loyalty to the government, however stupid. "Safety First" with us means much more than instructing a novice how to run his car and the public how to cross a city street. We are much concerned about the stability of society and not at all about its malleability. We forget that society tends to become static, stagnant, to conform closely to the past. We do not seem to know that it is more needful and far more difficult to provide for certain and sane changes than it is for convention and conformity. Yet we use our schools more for what we call normalcy than we do for necessary and unavoidable divergencies from the present.

Third, democratic education must have democratic organization and management. Now our private schools are owned, and governed, on the same principle as a factory or railroad. At bottom our public schools have a show of democratic control, but like most of our ancient democratic machinery, it functions autocratically, or, to quote Upton Sinclair, plutocratically. We must substitute for the school trustee system, the city commission-manager type of government, or, still better, the soviet principle of organization. The governing boards of our schools must give equal power to all, the financial supporters, the patrons, the teachers, the administrators, the general workers, and, most important, the pupils or students. Presidents, superintendents, principals must become agents of the school community, not, as



at present, factors of absentee landlords and stockholders.

A tendency toward thorough going democratic organization and management is to be seen in a few private schools and in some colleges of very recent origin, but its general adoption will doubtless be secured largely, as in industry, by means of strong craft organizations, possibly by the "One Big Union" principle. Teachers, general school workers, pupils and students, will no doubt organize and adopt the principles and practices of the unions, not excepting the strike. Without here commending or condemning the strike in schools we may note that the teachers have made effective and wholesome use of it in England, and that the university examiners in France, within the last few days, have alarmed a cabinet minister by threatening not to give the usual examinations. It is more than possible that the late high school strike in Superior, Wisconsin, has done more to educate teachers, public, pupils, even trustees and administrators, in the matter of democratic management of schools, and of a democratic society in general, than years of the goose-stepping we call education.

Fourth, the democratic education of tomorrow will be intimately related to the life of the day. It will not withdraw "from the world of realities," to quote Robert W. Bruere who wrote in the June *Survey Graphic*, on Antioch College. It will not attempt to "recreate oldtime occupational disciplines within the walls of the school house or the fences of the play ground." It will boldly incorporate the industries and activities of the day into its educational scheme. How far this principle may be carried is disclosed in an article in the above mentioned magazine, by the dean of Whittier College, California, Joseph Herschel Coffin. Here the "conventional subject-fields" have been abandoned and as the "core of the educative process," the "basic life situations" have been taken into the class rooms: "the sex-marriage situation," "the leisure-situation," "the occupation-situation," "the community-life-situation," "the what-is-there-in-religion-situation."

This is not a new principle or practice for the "progressive" schools of lower grade. But it does not appear that any one of the several older and established colleges have gone as far as Whittier and made the dominant interest of the student the "core" of the curriculum for that student. Herbert W. Smith, in the same magazine, discussing the fifteen years experience of the Ethical Culture School and

its plans for expansion, says they place the vocational interest of the student, once it is discovered, "at the center of the students educational program." They propose now to extend this principle which has thus far been applied only to art students to the several arts and professions and to prepare for immediate entrance into the technical and professional schools. This is not in the interest of a "short cut," but, apparently, it is based on the belief that general knowledge and culture can be better secured in this way than by following the program of the conventional arts college.

Democratic education will require teachers quite different from those of us who now occupy the desks. We were the all A, the most docile, the Phi Beta Kappa students. We have been most perfectly schooled and most poorly educated. The first half of our lives we spent in being schooled and the last half is being spent in schooling others. When we might get an education by selling books or life insurance, during vacations, we are being further schooled in the interest of degrees and income. The tendency in certain sections of the public schools, and in a few colleges and universities, to recruit teachers from the ranks of workers and professional people, looks strongly toward democratic education. It tends to do away with the monkish character of the pedagogue, and make of him a colleague and friend of the student. Democratic education will, doubtless, require as a condition of certification for its teachers, an extended apprenticeship in factory, shop or kitchen.

As an indication of how far we have gone in the direction of finding education in an interesting occupation, rather than in an uninteresting and compulsory school experience, I may cite President Lowell who recently said in the *Harvard Crimson*, that he thought a boy would be better off with a job that interested him than he would be in a secondary school that did not interest him. This sentiment, Dr. Lowell confessed to be a heresy. But Harvard heresy of today is likely to be the orthodoxy of tomorrow. For, if we have any lingering doubts about the infallibility of the word of a Yale professor, in the instance recently quoted, we can have none, certainly, about the utterance of the President of Harvard.

Finally, the democratic educational program will be filled and dominated by the spirit of youth, of art, and of invention. It will not, as the present system does, produce individuals who are mere

"bundles of habits without spontaneity or creativity." Indeed, our schools can not be expected to produce individuals, personalities. Swamped as they are with their hordes of drafted victims, they must be formal, regimented, as impersonal as a factory or a barracks. Dominated by our present theories of schooling, organized and directed like an industry, there is nothing for it but the "goose step." But education will have done with regimenting, with dry text books dealing with a dead past. Education will prepare for the laboratory of life, for life's race course.

Let us assure ourselves that education rather than instruction, drawing out of the personality rather than building in as per pattern, is possible by looking at the Danish Folk High Schools. Here are schools which for more than two generations have been freeing the minds and quickening the spirits of the young adult farmers. Without the use of compulsory schooling or lectures, or texts or lessons and without bribes in the way of credits and degrees, almost without books, these schools have made out of backward, discouraged peasant farmers, the most scientific and successful of agriculturists, masters of their own business and political leaders in their nation. The chief factor in the work of these schools is the "living word" of enthusiastic and inspiring teachers who begin with the problems of their people and illumine them with the great issues of science, of history, of literature, of art, and of religion.

If we say to ourselves, "That's quite different. Denmark is a little, homogeneous country, it can't be done here," then we should at least be fair enough with ourselves to look about carefully and see what is being done here in our own land to develop personality, spontaneity, creativity. One should read Hughes Mearns's *Creative Youth* and see what can be done by not much more than ordinary secondary pupils in the Lincoln High School when they are emotionally released and artistically inspired by teachers who believe that all children have poetry in them. Or, turn to the pages of the art number of the *Progressive Education* quarterly published in the fall of 1925, if we would discover the artistic nature of children.

What are now the energizing forces in our schools? Law or liberty? Spontaneity or the school policeman? Did not my little friend Bobby Jackson tell the whole story last fall just before school opened? I asked: "Bobby, are you glad school begins tomorrow?" Bobby replied with all the energy and dignity his seven years could supply: "No! Don't you

know school's the worstest place in the world?" Bobby gets his "education" in a simple, happy home atmosphere. He resents the interference of the teacher who gives him his schooling. His teacher and his school have not learned the art of democratic education. They rely on compulsion. And how many Bobbies, think you, would be in school next fall if parents and police failed to function?

But would Bobby's teacher be in the class room next fall if it were not for the economic rod that hangs over her? How many of our teachers would rather teach than do any thing else? How many girls, and women, in our class rooms are here just waiting for a man? How many men are there waiting for some job more to their taste? The compulsions that hang over Bobby and his teacher may serve for a time to produce Fords and the other bric-a-brac of our mechanized age but they cannot carry on, or even begin democratic education. They dry up the springs of youth and are at once fatal to education, and, ere long, to the shop as well. Like creative art and vital religion, democratic education can flourish only in an atmosphere created by a scientific yet idealistic educational philosophy and procedure.

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## Opening Address

DR. JOHN A. LAPP

*President Liberal Club, Chicago, Ill., and National Conference of Social Workers, to the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Chicago, Ill., June 27, 1927.*

Ladies and gentlemen: I claim only a partial kinship to education, although my chief interests are there. I regret that I am not now engaged in the active business of teaching in the class room but I am condemned to a life upon the road in the promotion of what I think are the general ideals of education as I see them. Therefore, I can not bring to you anything that is definitely education. My career in that respect, however, has been somewhat extensive. I claim a large part of the authorship of the Smith-Hughes Act, the creation of the vocational system of education in the United States.

We are not concerned so much and I am sure you are concerned not at all with the technique of education, with methods, with class room wisdom. You are concerned with something that is deeper than the actual methods of education, albeit in the profession you have that at heart naturally. You are interested in the spirit of education and I am sure that is where my interest primarily lies. To be interested in the spirit of education ought to be a very high ideal and it ought to be enthusiastically received not only by the teachers but by the people as a whole. At this time under our social regime as it now exists, that which ought to be the spirit of education has been more or less suppressed and sometimes seems to be in disfavor by many people who certainly should believe otherwise.

There is grave danger in this country of the spirit of education being obscured by lesser interests. The fact is that throughout the country men on horseback, as it were, are trying to suppress this movement and I know of nothing that is a graver danger today than this spirit of suppression which exists in many parts of the country.

I would like to find out in the great metropolitan centers what suppressions are existing—not merely on education but upon others—such as social workers of which class I am a part; upon labor unions, upon the employees of concerns, upon all people in fact. Then one outstanding danger to my mind today is the fact that these suppressions do exist and that they are killing the very best spirit of inquiry that ought to be the basis of our educational activity.

It isn't safe today to say a lot of things that we once thought were commonplace. It is rather interesting to note that we are in one class; it is rather interesting to think back to the time when we were young, twenty-five years ago, or thirty years ago, I can not imagine when I was in college of having any college president come around to our lyceums and debating societies and telling us what we were going to debate or suggesting that we must not debate on the subject of communism or bolshevism or any other question, for that matter. I imagine any person coming around and trying to dictate in those days to any group of college people or even in the villages, towns, or schools would have been thrown out on his head, for I am quite sure the people would not have tolerated that sort of thing in those days.

Perhaps I did not see the thing then that I see today. People do not mind doing things today that once would have been considered out of the pale of good society. They do not hesitate to throw men out of colleges and out of the Y. M. C. A. (although the men in the Y. M. C. A. do not get active enough to be thrown out) for even speaking their minds on subjects not thought proper for the public minds; they are even being thrown out for opinions that once were passed as commonplace. Men think they are courageous when they discuss things that to me seem ordinary, everyday things.

I have made addresses based largely upon the Declaration of Independence and men have said afterwards to me, "Well, that was a brave speech." Well, why I should like to know is it brave to express those things which deal with the fundamentals of free living and thinking? A professional woman whom I have known for some time who is very active in the Y. W. C. A. at Fort Wayne, together with her industrial secretary have recently been expelled from the society over there, not exactly expelled but their resignations have been asked for, because they belonged to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization which merely stands for peaceful methods between nations, an organization that is backed by a great many of the leading labor



organizations and the leading liberals of the United States. It is not a radical organization in any sense and yet here is a community that doesn't get excited over the fact that two women of distinguished manner and character have been driven out of the city by the houndings of some people who apparently do not believe in any kind of freedom at all.

It is a very serious matter as applied to education for if education is to be anything at all it is to be absolutely free in spirit. It is to make men and women free to think and willing to think and back them up so they will dare to think and say what they please to say. I do not mean that people should run around saying absurd things but I mean they should say the things and play the part in a community or communities that citizens are expected to do and say.

I am not so sure what is going to happen to this country if we go on with this suppression of the spirit as we are going today. Today we hear of education going into politics. We are told that education must not go into politics. We hear much about the clergy and the white collared clerk. We hear the warning that we should not go into politics because they are courting the good will of their superiors or they are afraid of their superiors. Labor union men, even ordinary men, are apparently afraid to express their views on politics if those views happen to run counter to the prevailing vote.

In the campaign of 1924 men were afraid to speak their views; when they ought to have been out telling their views on public questions they were afraid to speak, they were afraid to let it be known if they happened to be supporters of La Follette for president. Apparently it is all right if you are a Republican. Apparently it is all right in some sections if you are a Democrat. You can enter politics but if you happen to take a view counter to those two parties it is a different situation.

What has been the result of all this? Incidentally to politics, it has been shocking and it is a difference that will destroy the very foundations of the structure if that influence is allowed to continue. We have on very good authority that at least seventy-five per cent of the people of the United States inherit their politics. Seventy-five per cent of the people vote as their fathers and their grandfathers voted. How you can run a country, a democratic organization, when men vote on today's problems with the information and the principles that guided their fathers and their grandfathers years ago, is

quite beyond the comprehension of any of us who know what a progressive society we live in. Yet the fact is staring us in the face that we receive our inheritance of politics and pass on that inheritance to others without any kind of an attempt to learn the true situation as it exists today.

Someone asked me the other day if that was true of religion also. We inherit our religion. If we give that answer the argument is all destroyed and we have imagined that we could inherit our politics. When we inherit our religion it is not always a serious matter. But politics is not a personal matter. Politics concerns all the people and the acts of all the people as citizens. It concerns your actions as a voter. It affects my rights as well as your rights. It affects the rights of everybody.

A supreme court justice was nominated in Indiana four years ago in one of the districts by a majority of one vote. Every citizen of Indiana voted and everyone who didn't vote had a direct hand in naming the supreme court justice of Indiana by a majority of one vote. You can see how easily our rights are affected when by the casting of a ballot determinations are made that decide other folks' rights as well as our own.

This matter of inheriting our politics is a very serious one as we do nothing at all to change the situation. We do really nothing to get a thinking population, and more than that, we are allowing these separations to come upon us, preventing actual, clear cut understanding of what the problems are that confront us today.

Education is the only force that is going to be able to meet that condition. If the schools are going to become the hand tools (to pass an old worn out political phrase) of the politician, if the schools are not going to be free, then of course, we can not have any growing policy that will be progressive and will meet the new conditions as they arise.

If the schools can not be free to teach freely and frankly, then I do not know what we are coming to. A college president with whom I am very well acquainted was threatening a few months ago to remove a man from the chair of economics because he allowed the discussion, apparently with a favoring view himself, of the limitation of inheritances in the country, as though that were a new and strange doctrine that must be abhorred. The man almost lost the chair because he had allowed the class to discuss the possibilities of limiting inheritances. Apparently the president didn't know the inheri-

tance tax laws had limited inheritances to a considerable degree and that most men of sound judgment believe that a great limitation is inevitable and desirable.

That kind of condition does prevail pretty widely—far more than we understand and we can get expressions everywhere, but I do not need to talk about that sort of thing to you. You are perfectly aware in the cities from which you come of interests of that kind, but it is the way out to which we must turn. What can we do about it? I don't know what we can do about it except to stand up and fight on the question. I do not know what we can do except to try and convert some of these smug folks, educators and others, some of these folks who go on with the conditions as they have existed without engaging a hand to in some way or other get hold of these people, these well fed people who never think beyond their present meal, apparently, or possibly think of how they can get into power a group of people to control this thinking group of educators which they believe to be a menace to society.

Most people are under the fears that have been fomenting carefully to keep them out of the activities that might lead them toward a consideration of a reorganization of society.

I am not so very much concerned about the laws that compel the teachers to teach certain subjects, but I am concerned about the laws which prohibit the teacher from teaching certain things on certain subjects, those things which are essentially true. They strike at the very basis of education. If you can not teach in schools that thing, those things, which are scientifically true on account of a prejudice that has been enacted into law, then what becomes of education? The very spirit of education is destroyed.

It is the spirit of education that the American Federation of Teachers must uphold. A great many of the other agencies of education are not upholding the spirit of education and it falls to the lot of this organization as to no other, for I know of no other organization within the educational ranks that will stand boldly for the things for which you stand, the freedom of the teacher to teach, not to be erratic. A person of that type must lose out professionally, but you stand for the spirit of the teacher to teach freely the things that are known to be true and to use text books that the teacher knows to be reliable.

We are confused upon this issue all the time by politics. We have our issue in Chicago today in the teaching of history, a most absurd situation confronting us and a reflection upon education in an enlightened community. It is a reflection upon the people of this city that we should have a campaign that was based upon the question as to whether or not we should teach certain things about the American Revolution.

I believe we find that thing in many other cities also, that little testimony of facts. That we do not dare teach certain things even though they be true is the most damning thing that we could find from what we have obtained from education in the past. I do not mean to say that we should go out and denounce our American heroes by any means, but I certainly do not want to see myths taught about them. I want to see in respect to history, the straight-forward truth and when historians of repute have found that which they believe and understand to be the truth, then let us teach it. You can't teach all there is about history but you must not suppress those things which are vital to an understanding of American life and which are vital to an understanding and promotion of international betterment.

So it is the spirit of education that I think you have in your keeping. If there is any way to make teachers free it will be through the organization of the American Federation of Teachers and if you can not give a certain degree of security to teachers then of course, they can not be free, they will not be free.

The need which you have in your keeping is the greatest need of the times and in that purpose that you have charge of in the carrying out of views, representing the ends in view, is the greatest thing that could be given you. In that you ought to have the support of the liberal groups throughout the country. Educators can't do it alone. If we can not buttress the educators who are standing for these ideals by support from the community, by support from labor organizations, intelligent labor organizations, intelligent support from liberal clubs, intelligent support from women's clubs, intelligent support from all the civic organizations of a community, then there isn't any hope and it is to that end that I have confidence in the combined support which can be given by the liberal clubs and groups of the communities of our country to the American

(Continued on Page 22)

## Relation of Organized Labor to the Public School

By MARY HICKS

*Address to the Senior Class, State Normal School, Troy, Alabama*

The needs of the public school are familiar to us all. We are all familiar with the difficulties encountered in the effort to meet these needs. Buildings, equipment, size of classes, training of teachers, salaries of teachers, tenure and retirement of teachers—these problems are always with us, always involving heavy financial expense, always requiring united, aggressive action on the part of those who realize the importance of these questions.

One of the significant tendencies of our time is the promotion of all interests through organized groups. We have Chambers of Commerce, manufacturers' associations, professional associations, associations for objects of charity, culture or pleasure; we are organized in every field of human endeavor. Our teachers' associations, though organized and politically weak, have done some worth-while things; and the Parent-Teacher Association, growing steadily in numbers and achievement, is a powerful ally of the public school.

But though the Parent-Teacher Association may be united in devotion to the welfare of the children, it nevertheless includes varied and more or less conflicting elements. Business interests, professional interests, investors' interests, working class interests, are all represented, more or less, in its membership. On an economic basis, the Parent-Teacher Association is not a united group.

And economic interest is, after all, the most unshakable basis of unity. A group whose members are welded together by the enormous pressure of modern economic conditions will maintain its unity and persist in its purposes to a greater degree than is possible with groups otherwise formed.

Realizing then, that the public school needs the best organized, the most powerful support, we are led directly to this problem: What economic group is the strongest ally of the public school?

There are three great economic groups into which society is divided—the wealthy, or capitalist class; the middle, or business and professional class; and the working class.

The wealthy class has been generous to education. The Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, the General Education Board, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Commonwealth Fund, with other

boards and foundations, and with numberless individual gifts, are evidences of the awakening sense of social responsibility among wealthy people.

The economic group known as the middle class is less able to make large gifts of money. Moreover, the middle class is becoming weaker as the captains of industry extend their control over the natural resources of the country, concentrate and centralize industry and limit ever more closely the field of competition. The uncertain economic condition of the lesser business and professional men is not conducive to independent thinking and fearless action.

Finally—the working class! The workers in mines, who toil in the darkness, in danger of suffocating death, that the world may have light and warmth and power; the workers in fields who under blazing suns provide the world with food, and with raw materials of industry; the workers in mills and shops and factories; who in the deafening roar and dizzying whirl of machinery, shape with maimed hands products to meet every need of civilized man—these workers who have done all in material things—can they also take part in solving the problems of education?

Let us turn to history.

A number of you may recall in this connection some statements made in one of your text books, "Social Forces in American History," by A. M. Simons. In discussing the early labor movement in this country, Simons says:

"The one dominant feature of every section of this labor movement was the almost fanatical insistence upon the paramount importance of education. In political platforms, in resolutions of public meetings, and in the labor press, the statement is repeated over and over that the fundamental demand of labor is for an adequate system of education."

The working people demanded appropriation of the public funds for education on a system assuring to every child adequate educational opportunities.

Simons tells us further that the workers were not content with merely protesting and demanding—they were far in advance of their age in their appreciation of educational methods. In the year 1830, a committee of Philadelphia workingmen, appointed to study the educational situation, gave in their



report a keen criticism of the system then existing and outlined a scheme of education including kindergartens and manual training, supporting their arguments by illustrations drawn from similar institutions in Europe.

This is what organized labor was doing nearly a hundred years ago, when in the state of Pennsylvania the rich sent their children to expensive private schools and only paupers were provided with teachers by the state. For the children of people of ordinary means "there was no provision whatever."

For demanding free, tax-supported schools the leaders of this movement were ridiculed, they were called revolutionists, they were even set upon by the police, beaten and thrown into prison.

We find the same story told by Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy in the University of Wisconsin; by Frank Tracy Carlton, professor of economics in DePauw University, and by other writers. For the establishment of our public school system we are accustomed to give all credit to Horace Mann, Henry Barnard and the New England ministers, but these writers reveal "an underlying and more potent force." To the early labor movement more than to any other cause we owe the common school system of today.

In his book, "The Labor Movement in America," Professor Ely says: "At every period of our history public school questions have been labor questions or labor measures. And when I say this, I do not exclude our universities."

Professor Ely says further: "Where shall we find guardians against assaults on our public schools? Where shall we find those who will not only protect what we have but help us forward in new achievements in education? To both questions I reply: in our labor organizations. All over the world, labor organizations are supporting and bearing forward every popular educational movement."

Let us compare these facts and views concerning the working class with all that can be said of the beneficence of the wealthy class, or of the intelligence and culture of the middle class.

The workers are superior in numbers. They are superior in political power where they realize their power. They are more directly concerned with the free public school than any other economic group.

I believe you will agree with these scholarly thinkers that the strongest ally of the public school is organized labor.

Turning to more recent history, we find that for

twenty-five years or more the teachers of Chicago have relied on labor for support. About twenty-five years ago the elementary teachers of Chicago determined to relieve the shortage of funds from which they and their schools were severely suffering. They believed that the taxes for the support of the schools and the rentals from school lands were not being justly collected. They believed that the school board itself was controlled by the great tax-dodging interests.

The Chicago Teachers' Federation, led by two women teachers, affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor, and after a long and magnificent fight forced some of the greatest of these tax-dodgers to meet their obligations.

Later the high school men teachers, and still later the high school women teachers of Chicago organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Chicago teachers now discovered that in different parts of the country were several other teachers' organizations affiliated, or planning to affiliate with labor. Communication with these locals was established and a national organization was proposed. In 1916 the American Federation of Teachers was organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Teachers now has locals throughout the country. Some are in large cities, as Boston, New York, Jersey City, Trenton, Baltimore, Washington, Atlanta, Memphis, Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and San Francisco. Locals have been organized in several universities and normal schools.

Among the members of the American Federation of Teachers are some of the most distinguished men in the educational world: John Dewey, of Columbia University; Harry A. Overstreet, of the College of the City of New York; Jerome Davis, Yale University; John A. Brewer, Harvard University; Paul Douglas and Robert Morss Lovett, University of Chicago; George Coe, of Columbia University; Joseph K. Hart, Harold Groves, Jacob Perlman and others of the University of Wisconsin.

The affiliation of teachers with organized labor has resulted in many notable achievements. A few of these are increases in teachers' salaries, reduction in the size of classes, democratic participation of class room teachers in the conduct of the schools, the election of progressive boards of education with labor representation and occasionally with teacher representation, legislative provision for free text books and for greater school revenues.

In verification of these claims I have a statement from the president of the Federation, Miss Mary C. Barker, who is principal of a school in Atlanta. I asked Miss Barker to outline for us the work done in Atlanta through the co-operation of the Atlanta Teachers' Association with the Atlanta Federation of Trades. She wrote the outline especially for us, and I give it to you in her own inspiring words:

"The Atlanta Federation of Trades and the editor of the Journal of Labor are always alert to encourage the education of all the children of all the people, and to promote the interests of the public schools. They are ever alert to guard the schools from the attacks of those who would curtail the service of the schools either as relates to the school program itself or as to the number and condition of those who are to receive the benefits of education.

"It is no unusual thing—indeed, it is the common thing—for the executive board or a committee from the Federation of Trades to appear before the finance committee of the City Council to support—yes, demand, if necessary, appropriations for school purposes.

"When it was proposed by some of the 'anti-tax-payers' to do away with the Opportunity School, the Federation of Trades and the Journal of Labor made a valiant fight for it. The school was retained. When there was talk of cutting out kindergartens and 'lopping off the frills,' there was outspoken opposition from these same quarters. When for any reason the schools need financial support or political backing, the labor interests go to the front in the battle for public education.

"The teachers have civil service, higher salaries, and some 'voice in the management' that they never would have had but for the backing of the Federation of Trades and their paper, the Journal of Labor.

"As to the attitude of principals in our affiliation with labor they are one with the teachers. They know that it is from labor that we get our best support. One principal remarked some time ago that in the beginning 'we hated to do it, but we were forced to in order to get support for the schools.' She admitted that now we take it as a matter of course.

"The superintendent also realizes that our best support comes from labor. He would never have been able to put over the progressive program that was adopted several years ago but for the backing of that same group together with Parent-Teacher help.

"Altogether, the public schools in Atlanta look to labor as our best friend."

This concludes Miss Barker's statement. She deals, of course, with a great city school system co-operating with the City Federation of Trades. But county locals may be organized by rural teachers and the State Federation of Labor also stands ready to help. Mr. Mosley, of Birmingham, publisher of the Labor Advocate, official organ of the Alabama Federation of Labor, writes me that if the teachers of this state were organized and affiliated with labor, they would have the backing of probably 40,000 organized labor people in Alabama and would thus be greatly strengthened in their struggle to get results from the state legislature.

Seniors—As president of the American Federation of Teachers, Miss Barker sends you this invitation: "To the Students of the State Normal School: "Troy, Alabama.

"Through correspondence with one of your fellow students, I learn that you have some knowledge of the American Federation of Teachers. It occurs to me that some of you might desire to affiliate with us if you are entering upon the career of a teacher. In case some are already teachers there is all the more possibility that you have become conscious of the fact that only through organization and a definite program can teachers influence as they should the welfare of the schools of the land.

"We should be pleased to welcome you into the American Federation of Teachers. We have a provision for 'membership at large' which would enable you to be a member even though you should not be one of a group in a given locality that desired to form a local of the Federation.

"My best wishes for your success in your chosen profession.

"Very truly yours,

"MARY C. BARKER,

"President American Federation of Teachers."

Fellow students: If we accept this invitation we shall be doing that which John Dewey said teachers should always strive to do—help in the wiping out of the false distinction between the brain worker and the hand worker.

In accepting this invitation we shall be only taking our rightful place in the labor movement, which Professor Ely has called "the strongest force outside the Christian church making for the practical recognition of human brotherhood," and eventually we shall realize that, as Carlyle has said, "This movement called organized labor is the universal, vital problem of the world."

## The Legislative Report

*Eleventh Annual Convention American Federation of Teachers, June 25—July 1, 1927.*

The great problem that confronts the teachers of America is the transformation of our educational system so that it will turn out educated men and women inspired by a desire to serve rather than to exploit their fellow men. This goal can be achieved only when the teachers and the American people, rather than dominant economic interests, determine educational policies and curricula. While such social control can be best realized through the democratization of boards of education or boards of trustees and through the unionization of teachers, it can, however, be considerably advanced or retarded by legislation.

Heretofore, teachers, because of their academic attitude, have left the control of legislation largely to those who often have selfish ends to serve. Their aloofness has resulted in preventing the play of their trained minds, exact knowledge, devotion to truth and their general attitude of impartiality, from exerting proper and necessary influence upon legislation. *The American Federation of Teachers believes that the time has come for teachers to emerge from their school and college walls and to place themselves at the service of the public.*

We believe that teachers should organize and cooperate with other social groups, not only to advance legislation favorable to public education, but also to block anti-social legislation inimical to the public schools and to the people. Teachers should also take advantage of every opportunity offered by charter revision and constitutional amendments, to incorporate the sound educational principles herein recommended into the basic law of every state or to bring about the incorporation of sound educational principles into the platforms of the various political parties.

### ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND TENURE

Change is the law of progress. If the social value of change is to be secured, teachers and pupils must be free. Unless such freedom is assured, intellectual stagnation is inevitable. In certain states of the Union the principle of academic freedom has been seriously menaced, if not nullified, by legislation based upon distrust, not only of the intelligence of teachers, but also of their unselfish devotion to the state and to the ideals of the teaching profession.

As teachers loyal to our profession and to American tradition, we cannot but deplore the growth of the un-American spirit of political, religious and economic intolerance abroad in the land.

This intolerance is evidenced by the summary dismissal of Dr. John E. Kirkpatrick from the faculty of Olivet College for writing "The American College and Its Rulers;" of Professors Robert T. Kerlin and John A. Kinneman of West Chester Normal in Pennsylvania for their support of the Liberal Club and for daring to criticize the Nicaraguan policy of President Coolidge; of Mrs. Della Clifford of Lynn, Massachusetts and Mrs. Rachel Davis DuBois for their liberal activities; of Miss Dickinson of Superior, Wis., for criticizing the policies of the superintendent of schools; and of a host of others. We can but rejoice that members of the American Federation of Teachers have the courage to pay for their devotion to truth. It was their sacrifice, as well as the suffering and martyrdom of the champions of intellectual freedom in the past, which makes it possible for mankind to enjoy fuller freedom than at almost any other period in history.

The American Federation of Teachers believes that these dismissals were inspired by the fear as well as by the self-interest of those who are determined to maintain the "status quo." Hence the educational heresy hunting so widely inaugurated to inspire the fear which has poisoned human relations by the cowardice it has engendered. The havoc wrought by the cowardice of those charged with the responsibility of the teaching of our youth, is almost greater than the havoc wrought by cowardice in public life or in international relations. This cowardice is largely due to the fact that teachers who perform their duties efficiently and conscientiously, lack permanent tenure or security of position. *Any attempts to weaken the tenure laws that now exist or the failure to guarantee efficient teachers a life position, strikes at the heart of our great democracy which depends upon courageous thinking citizens.* All attacks upon tenure, whether made openly or insidiously, must be resisted.

The most notorious example of insidious legislation undermining tenure was the enactment of the Lusk Laws by the Legislature of New York. These laws undermined tenure of teachers, since they made it pos-



sible for the Commissioner of Education to dismiss teachers without a trial. Though these laws were the product of war hysteria and were later repealed by the mandate of the people as expressed at the polls, nevertheless, at numerous public hearings, reactionary groups, seeking to prevent the enactment of socially necessary legislation, such as the Child Labor Amendment or the Women's Eight Hour Bill, still offer in support of their opposition, the biased and false testimony upon which the Lusk Laws were based.

Moreover, teachers who have tenure based upon local by-laws or upon regulations adopted by boards of education, or upon annual contracts, must not delude themselves into believing that they have permanency of tenure. Such a situation existed in the city of Minneapolis where, despite local trial regulations, teachers were dismissed without a trial and without having definite charges preferred against them, thus demonstrating that tenure laws based upon local regulations are inadequate. State tenure laws based upon the principles adopted by the American Federation of Teachers are the only adequate safeguard against unwarranted dismissal. We congratulate our locals of Minnesota for their success in securing a tenure law.

A somewhat novel method of undermining tenure was the effort to modify the New York pension law so as to empower the superintendent of school to compel teachers to undergo an examination at the hands of the physicians employed by the board of education in order to test their physical or mental fitness. Teachers who refused to undergo such a one-sided medical examination were automatically deprived of their salaries for four months. If, at the end of that time, the suspended teacher still refused to undergo a physical examination at the hands of the physicians controlled by the board of education, they could then be dismissed for neglect of duty without a hearing or a trial.

The American Federation of Teachers believes that persons unfit for duty should be dismissed or retired according to the provisions of the tenure or pension laws. We regard efforts like the above as dangerous, because present laws provide a wise judicial method for eliminating unfit persons from the system and also because they tend to place undue power in the hands of the administrative authorities who, under the guise of ridding the system of unfit teachers, could dismiss excellent teachers who happen to be critics without giving them the protection embodied in the tenure laws.

Another method of undermining tenure was tried successfully in Buffalo. Teachers with permanent teaching licenses, who had been advanced to higher positions on probation, were deprived of their position without the preferment of charges or without a hearing or trial. The Legislative Committee regards such action as arbitrary and un-American. It strikes at teacher morale and teaching efficiency. The committee recommends the enactment of legislation providing that teachers holding permanent licenses cannot be dismissed from the system during probation for higher license, without a trial and the right of appeal.

All these attempts to undermine tenure are generally fathered by selfish interests which seek to use the public schools for propaganda purposes. Such attempts, if successful, tend to destroy academic freedom, and bring the teaching profession into such disrepute that courageous teachers will resign, while prospective teachers will be deterred from making teaching their life work. Hence such legislation must not only be resisted, but every effort must be made to bring about the reinstatement of teachers dismissed without the right of trial or appeal. Teachers will not be safe against unjust dismissal unless they secure the enactment of tenure legislation in harmony with the following principles adopted at our third annual convention:

1. Tenure, after the lapse of a probationary period not to exceed two years, should be made permanent during efficiency.
2. All dismissals, both during and after the probationary period, should be for cause definitely embodied in the law, such as immorality and inefficiency.
3. After the probationary period, dismissal for any cause should be only by a trial board chosen as follows: Three by the school board, three by the teachers, these six to select a seventh, who is not to be either a member of the school board or of the teaching staff and who shall act as impartial chairman. At all hearings, teachers shall have the right to be represented by counsel. Appeals from the decision of the trial board may be taken to the courts or to the commissioner of education, where the teachers shall have the right of review on questions of law as well as of fact.

#### LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF COURSES OF STUDY

One of the most pernicious of legislative tendencies is the attempt to determine the content of the

social and biological sciences by legislative enactment. Such efforts were made in Wisconsin, Kentucky, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, North Carolina and other states. Aside from the fact that the efforts of laymen to determine the various courses of study must inevitably lead to disaster and block the march of educational progress, they strike at the professional status of teachers. *The determination of the content of the various courses of study belongs to the teaching profession and every effort to infringe upon that right is resented and should be resisted if our professional status is to be maintained and strengthened.*

In the state of New York the senate which voted to repeal the Lusk laws overwhelmingly passed the Higgins Bill, which prescribed, with great minuteness how text-books in American History should be written so that the lustre of American patriots and of American military achievements, especially those connected with our wars against England, be neither dimmed nor tarnished nor the motives of the participants criticized. In the Federal Congress Representative Connery introduced a bill which provides that Congress shall investigate all history text-books and shall have the World War explained and interpreted by commanding officers who fought in the war. The American Federation of Teachers was the only organization which took cognizance of this measure. It induced Mr. Reed of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Education, to agree that if a hearing is held on this measure, educators and historians, as well as military men, should be heard. A similar but more ridiculous measure was introduced into the legislature of the State of Washington providing that the Dean of the Law School shall determine the content of history text-books.

*The American Federation of Teachers believes that a true picture of the past, with due regard for the age of pupils, should be given; that under no circumstances should truth be perverted or distorted; that both sides of controversial questions should receive adequate and impartial consideration so as to develop the spirit of tolerance and, in addition, to provide proper material for thought. The attempts to have history engender, promote or intensify hatred between nations; to create a jingo patriotism or to develop a "superiority complex" through the perversion of facts in the interest of a wrong type of patriotism, must be everywhere resisted. If that be not done, legislative text-book fixing will not only have deplorable results on teacher morale, but will tend*

*to develop an American "kultur" and its dangerous concomitants. We cannot emphasize too strongly that truth is central in all social and the biological sciences and that truth can be neither loyal nor disloyal. Teachers must not only be loyal to truth but what is becoming daily more significant, they must be loyal to its social meaning.*

A most striking attempt to interfere with both academic freedom and the professional right of teachers to determine the content of the biological sciences was the enactment of the Tennessee anti-evolution law, the enforcement of which resulted in the removal of J. T. Scopes. Among the fundamental issues involved in this case are the following:

1. The proponents of the anti-evolution law assume that science and religion are in conflict;
2. That persons holding certain religious beliefs shall have the right, when a fortuitous majority so decrees, to harness the machinery of state for its partisan religious purposes;
3. That truth is absolute and religious belief as static or as unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

We hold that no one has the right to interfere with the religious beliefs of any other person. *We hold no brief for partisan teaching or for propaganda for or against the theory of evolution or for any other theory. We do insist on the imperative need and the right of teachers to be free to present such scientific theories, facts or opinions as are necessary to sound teaching, without interference by legislative enactment.* Young America is entitled to know the best that has been evolved in literature, in science, in art, and in industry; it also has the right to evaluate any theory or doctrine. The denial of such right means not only a denial of their educational heritage but also intellectual slavery.

*We further believe the constitutional separation of Church and State as established by the Constitution to have been historically justifiable as well as wise and sound. We maintain that the principle of separation of Church and State is seriously endangered if not nullified when religious groups, however well motivated, because they happen to have a temporary majority in the legislature, assume the right to use that power to limit the application of scientific or economic theories or the right to impose upon others certain interpretations of the Bible or of a religious creed. Such a denial of a cardinal American political principle seriously endangers liberty itself.*

As Americans imbued with the ideal of political

and religious liberty that gave America its birth and its worth, we cannot permit our citadel of freedom to yield either to the zealots of science or to the extremists of religion; or to surrender to the intolerance of conservative or radical. *Our schools must be kept free from political or religious bigotry to the end that truth may prevail and progress be not impeded.*

Another menace to both tenure and academic freedom which has generally escaped notice, is the Summers Amendment to the Appropriation Bill in the District of Columbia. It provides that educational administrators be denied salaries if they permit the teaching "of disrespect for the Holy Bible, controversial partisan politics or that ours is an inferior form of government." The sinister amendment is hard to explain. As far as we have been able to ascertain, no teacher in the District of Columbia has ever taught disrespect for the Holy Bible nor has the slightest desire to do so. Who will interpret what is meant by the words "disrespect for the Holy Bible?" Will the teachings of astronomy, such as the Copernican Theory, or the teaching of the Theory of Evolution be so regarded? If so, then this evasion of academic freedom deserves the opposition that the anti-evolution law has evoked. While we are opposed to partisan politics or to partisan teaching, most social and economic questions are controversial. This restriction would, in effect, kill the teaching of the social sciences—the heart of any sound curriculum.

As for the phase that no one may teach that ours is an inferior form of government, one can hardly find words with which to describe how easily that may be used, not only to prevent any teaching of comparative government, but also the presentation of any progressive point of view. We are reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the Summer's Amendment is an insult to the teaching profession, a bar to scientific teaching and a serious invasion of the principle of academic freedom and teacher control of the content of the courses of study. While this amendment was nullified through the efforts of our legislative representative at Washington, Representative Blanton of Texas threatens to re-introduce this amendment in the coming session of Congress. Eternal vigilance is the price of our educational liberty.

#### SALARIES

National wealth, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, has increased from \$63,000,000,000 to \$90,000,000,000 within the past six years.

Since 1910 the total net annual income of America has increased over 80 per cent, while our capital accumulations and power to create wealth have multiplied enormously. This was shown by the output per man-hour in basic industries, such as steel and auto production; by the increase of 43 per cent in the production of electrical energy obtained by the use of fuel and by the increased productivity of labor itself. In view of America's prosperity and her unprecedented growth in wealth since the World War, the failure of states and localities to pay adequate salaries to teachers seems incomprehensible.

*Teachers have never been paid salaries commensurate with the social service they render. Wage reductions which have been suggested by some boards of education, are not only without justification but suicidal. They tend to drive out of the teaching profession those courageous idealists whose inspiration is the divine spark that fires impressionistic youth to those achievements which make for progress. Attempts at salary reduction should be resisted not only because they entail hardships upon teachers and their dependents, but particularly because they are anti-social as well as destructive of the best interests of the country, since they transform teaching either into a part-time job or drive out of the profession those who can least be spared.*

A study of the salaries paid to teachers of normal school and teachers' colleges, recently made by one of our locals, revealed the deplorable fact that the general salary level in these institutions is not such as to guarantee that the students in them will continue to come under the influence of the most capable and socially-minded teachers obtainable. Many of these schools still have salary schedules ranging from \$1,000 to \$3,300 and some from \$1,700 to \$4,000—salaries less than those received by class teachers in first grade cities. Moreover, even these schedules are not automatic in operation and hence the underpayment of our normal teachers is even greater than indicated. As the future of America rests to a considerable degree upon the fitness of the teachers for their task and, as the fitness of the teacher is largely determined by the type of normal and training school teacher, we earnestly call upon the public to give these teachers a salary commensurate with the service they render.

America's unprecedented growth in wealth since the World War, the improved status of the organized workers, the failure of boards of education to follow the recommendations of Citizens Committees for



salary increases, explains, in large part, the great, annual teacher turn-over of 100,000 and the inevitable lowering of standards. The niggardly policy, pursued by purblind boards of education toward the question of teachers' salaries cannot be continued without paying heavily in the shape of an untrained citizenry and poor economic adjustments. To prevent the catastrophe which must inevitably follow if teaching becomes a part-time job or if it fails to hold the best teachers or to attract others equally able, teachers and public spirited citizens should be persuaded to inaugurate salary campaigns in their respective localities, which should provide for the following:

1. The embodiment of the principle of equal pay for equal professional qualifications and experience regardless of sex or of grade or class taught (as in the Minneapolis schedules).

2. A \$2,000 minimum, as every child is worth at least a \$2,000 teacher.

3. A maximum which will provide a cultural wage enabling teachers to live according to the requirements of their position, to provide for the hazards of life, for leisure, for recreation and for professional improvement.

4. A maximum to be reached in not more than ten definite annual automatic increments, regardless of ratings.

5. An index system to maintain the purchasing power of the culture wage, to be periodically modified to meet ever-increasing living costs and to be used in determining higher standards of living.

When one realizes the many tremendous responsibilities now being placed upon the teachers by the complexities of modern life and the conditions which place teachers in "loco parentis"; when one realizes the intensive and extensive preparations now required of teachers and the growing number of administrative and executive duties performed by them, is it too much to ask that the financial returns be somewhat commensurate with the increased requirements of the position, the services rendered by them and the generally rising standards of living for all groups?

#### FINANCE

Attacks upon the mounting cost of education have recently received considerable attention. To those familiar with growing educational expenditures, this unjustifiable criticism seems to show a misconception of educational values as well as an anti-social viewpoint which augurs ill for educational advance. As

champions of the cause of education and progress, we must insist that it is not what is spent for education that should excite alarm, but rather the kind of education for which it is spent and the comparatively small sums which have been spent by a nation whose income in 1925 was about \$90,000,000,000.

Education should be more costly because we are now giving children a more comprehensive education to fit them for a more complex and varied life. Moreover, we are fitting our education more and more to the type of children and not, as heretofore, the children to a uniform educational scheme. Hence the special classes or schools for the crippled, the blind, the cardiac, the anemic; hence, the grading of pupils according to intelligence; hence the various types of individual instruction which characterize our educational experiments, such as the Dalton or the Winnetka Plans; the various types of high schools—manual training, textile, commercial or cultural. Comparing the growth of our wealth and population with conditions prior to the World War, we find, much to our amazement that the total educational expenditures of America in 1920 by our national government (exclusive of state expenditures) were a little over one billion dollars or less than two per cent of our annual income; that these educational expenditures are little short of one-third the amount spent by us on such luxuries as candy and tobacco.

#### WAR AND EDUCATION

Education is the only hope of a better and saner social order. True education should make of our children not only guardians of our revolutionary and constitutional heritage but also pioneers of this new society—a society built upon the principle of co-operative effort for the benefit of all and not upon special privilege or personal gain for the few. Not the development of robots but the development of character and nobility of soul should be our educational goal. War not only militates against the development of the highest type of socially-minded citizens, but is also destructive of all that is best in mankind. War makes for the survival of the biologically unfit, for economic disorganization, for misery and engenders hatreds which make future wars inevitable.

*We teachers must meet propaganda for war with propaganda for peace. Our chief task is to organize for peace by appealing to the hearts and minds of the growing manhood and womanhood of the nation entrusted to our care. Let the schools become the training ground for the warriors of peace, righteous-*

*ness and justice—political, social and economic. When that is done, the goal longed for by the lovers of progress and mankind will surely be attained.*

To achieve the ends so ardently desired by the lovers of peace, the schools must first root out those narrow ambitions and those ancient animosities which haunt and dominate Europe. It must replace them with a desire for organized co-operation which alone can make possible the development of international mindedness without which no world machinery, however admirable, can function. The American Federation of Teachers, in co-operation with world organizations such as the World Federation, should seek to secure the enactment of legislation, or better still, to complete our plans for a world conference of educators with a view of reconstructing our textbooks in literature, in the social and natural sciences so as to eliminate national egoism, race hatred, the glorification of war and the substitution therefor of the teaching of the truth about war—its cold-blooded butchery, its elimination of the biologically fit, its economic chaos, its debts, starvation, misery and disease. We should glorify the heroes of peace as symbolized by the physician who risks all to discover a cure for leprosy or the idealist who holds fast to minority views which make man's progress possible.

Second, we should secure the passage of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for a referendum on war, except in case of direct invasion of our territory.

Third, we should seek to have Congress enact legislation empowering the President to work for the outlawry of war and for the creation of an international tribunal for the settlement of such disputes as may arise, on the principles of an international code to be developed and codified.

Fourth, we should support such measures and movements as seek to have the United States participate in international conferences called to consider the reduction of armament and such economic and social matters as are of vital concern to mankind to the end that imperialistic conflicts and the wars they engender may be forever banished.

Fifth, we should secure the enactment of legislation which will insure the prompt publication of state department reports or treaties.

Sixth, we endorse the Briand proposal for the outlawry of war between France and the United States as a step in the program for the general outlawing of war between all nations.

*Seventh, we should support measures which*

*seek to prevent the use of government funds for the support of compulsory military training in public schools and colleges. We are opposed to the conscription of American manhood by educational institutions, as tending to develop the military spirit. Compulsory military training, which is a poor substitute for physical training, is educationally unsound since it substitutes automatic for rational reaction. What may be far worse, compulsory military training engenders an attitude of mind, menacing to world peace, because it recognizes war as a normal social phenomenon placing upon citizens the duty to participate in it.*

The outcome of the struggle between war and peace upon which so much depends, rests largely with the schools and colleges. It is therefore encouraging to the lovers of peace and brotherhood to find the young men of our colleges objecting strongly to compulsory military training. The American Federation of Teachers hopes that this opposition to military training and, especially to the domination of such training by the Department of War with the resources and the prestige of the government behind it, will grow until compulsory military training is completely wiped out of every educational institution. Only through such a victory will a peace mind-set gradually develop and help undermine and finally nullify the organized efforts now being made to fix more firmly the war mind-set which unfortunately dominates mankind.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

Members of the A. F. of T. have always given consecrated service to the public schools of the country. In times of crises our members have cheerfully rendered conspicuous additional service without a thought of remuneration or praise. It is therefore unfortunate that unscrupulous supervisors have sometimes taken advantage of the generous efforts of teachers to enact administrative regulations which would make such additional voluntary efforts a regular feature of school work. This tendency is evidenced in the efforts of school administrators to impose unnecessary and unwarranted burdens upon the teachers. Among such burdens may be cited truant hunting; aid in special non-school activities sponsored by the supervisors for their own personal aggrandizement; useless clerical work which interferes with teaching; curtailment of the intellectual rights and physical comforts of teachers; dictating the type of school activity to be conducted by teachers, etc. All

such unjustifiable attempts to curtail the rights and privileges of teachers or to waste taxpayers' money must be continually resisted.

#### PENSIONS

One of the chief hazards to which teachers are subjected is the hazard of old age. The fear of being without a position makes the oldest and best equipped teachers educational conformists rather than progressive educators. The low wages paid to teachers often compel them to continue teaching when they are no longer able to do so, either in justice to themselves or to their pupils, thus clogging the educational system. *To save the teachers and the schools from this misfortune, to make room for the younger and more vigorous men and women, to give the older teachers the rest and the comfort they have so richly earned,* we recommend renewed endeavors to secure pension legislation based upon the following principles:

1. The state or the locality shall appropriate the entire pension allowance. Where that is impossible, the state shall appropriate at least as much as the teachers to enable them to secure a half-pay pension.
2. The state or the city shall make an additional contribution for the past services of teachers in the system rendered prior to the time the pension system becomes operative.
3. Voluntary retirement after thirty years of service or at age of 60 and compulsory retirement at age 70. Exception to the compulsory retirement provision may be made by the Board of Retirement.
4. Disability retirement after ten years of service.
5. Return of contributions with compound interest at 4 per cent upon dismissal or withdrawal from the system.
6. Credit shall be given for service rendered in other states.
7. Pension funds shall be managed by a Board of Retirement on which teachers shall be represented equally with the city.
8. Insurance options, if embodied in the law, should be automatic in operation.

#### CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

Continuation schools were established to meet the educational and industrial needs of boys and girls who were forced by adverse economic conditions or ill-adjusted curricula to terminate their school careers too soon. These schools are now functioning with a large measure of success in almost twenty-six states. Anti-social, uneducated or misguided em-

ployers are seeking to undermine these beneficent laws which are not only doing much to enable children to lift themselves out of blind-alley jobs, but also to develop their educational possibilities to the utmost. This has been made possible by the stimulation that comes from the correlation of education to one's work and by their contact with reality.

Recently efforts have been inaugurated to undermine the operation of these laws by suggesting amendments reducing the compulsory school age or by substituting evening school for day school attendance or by other substitutes for the continuation school. We regard all these attacks upon the continuation schools as undesirable and unwise attempts to undermine these beneficent laws and institutions, and we urge our affiliated locals to defeat all such attempts. *While we recognize that the continuation schools have weaknesses and that some of the opponents, alienated by these weaknesses, are sincere in their opposition, we believe the more intelligent solution lies in the elimination of these evils and not in attempts to undermine the laws and thus destroy the efficiency of these schools.*

We, therefore, suggest that attendance should be required from four to eight hours weekly; that the curricula be broadened to meet the varying needs of the pupils—cultural as well as industrial; that better specialized equipment and buildings be provided by boards of education; that trained trade teachers be attracted to teaching by improving their status; that more liberal state and national aid be furnished to make these reforms possible. We further suggest that vocational guidance be especially emphasized along with health education and medical inspection, using the resources of the physician, the dentist, the visiting teacher and the psychiatrist.

*The continuation schools, in their experimental state, with their small classes, their factual approach, and their contact with life, offer boards of education a challenge as well as a rare opportunity of testing the validity of our traditional educational policies. We hope that our educators will meet, not only the challenge of our changing economic order, but of those who offer creative education as the way out.*

#### CREATIVE EDUCATION

Organized labor regards education as a means to a nobler and better life. It takes pride not only in the part it has played in making possible publicly supported schools but in its progressive educational outlook. After a survey of our educational system, the A. F. of T. believes the time has arrived for a



thoroughgoing reconstruction of our educational aims, methods, equipment and curricula so as to bring them in harmony with present day life. Such a change will make it possible for our schools to function more effectively in the preparation of boys and girls for social living.

Our educational system seems to be characterized by traditional and outworn methods and curricula. It is artificially motivated and secures discipline largely through coercion. This "police concept" of education and the tendency to impose upon changing childhood adult concepts not only makes for suppressions and neuroses, now only too common, but also has a most deadening influence upon the whole educational process. As a result, we have a regimentalized school procedure, for the presentation of subject matter remote from the life interest of the child and taught by a "speeding-up" process which makes it difficult for pupils to live richly and creatively during their school life.

The A. F. of T. believes the schools of the future must be built in a wholesome, natural and artistic environment, upon principles of freedom and co-operation. Such schools will liberate and organize the capacities of children under a curriculum based essentially upon the needs and interests of the individual child as expressed by him. In such a school now being conducted by Local No. 5 of New York at Pawling, children grow by living their experiences instead of getting other people's description of them. In these schools the teacher becomes a comrade and co-operator, rather than a disciplinarian and marker. Here education becomes a "guided growth," has democracy for its cornerstone, a flexible curriculum for its foundation and the nursery for its starting place.

#### ARE TEACHERS HUMAN BEINGS?

Since teachers are generally recognized as an over-conscientious and overworked group, since they are generally looked upon as being the most important of public employees, one would be led to believe that they were being treated with special consideration. Unfortunately, the treatment accorded teachers is utterly out of harmony with the laudations usually accorded them at commencement time, when they are referred to as the bulwark of the nation. The utter disregard of the rights of teachers, due to their failure to organize, manifests itself in such an inhuman way that nothing short of organized power will shock the social conscience into a realization of the inhuman treatment often accorded them.

The low state of the teaching profession is evidenced by the ridiculous restrictions imposed upon them. Teachers have been denied renewals or promotions or have been dismissed for getting married, for "keeping company," for bobbing their hair, for smoking, for attending dances, for going to moving picture shows on Sunday and for many other reasons which would never be considered in connection with other vocations. In fact, every act of the teacher has, at times, been minutely prescribed. We believe that teachers must insist upon the fullest exercise of their rights as citizens as well as teachers. We further believe that questions of *professional conduct should be determined by the teaching profession and not by lay persons.*

In various parts of the country, teachers who become ill from overwork or natural causes, are penalized by the loss of their wages, while in Washington, D. C., the superintendent of schools, who was chairman of the Department of Superintendents of the N. E. A., recommended that *teachers who are absent, regardless of the cause, be forced to pay the replacing substitute more than a day's wages.* Only the strongest protest of Local No. 8 resulted in the modification of the rule to a deduction of three-quarters of a day's pay. The A. F. of T. insists that the teachers are entitled to human consideration. It recommends that its locals begin a campaign to secure the following:

1. Full pay for absence for ninety teaching days due to illness, if certified to by a physician.
2. Payment for illness beyond the ninety days to be determined by the superintendent of schools or by the board of education.
3. Full pay for absence due to death in the family or to quarantine.

One of the chief causes of loss in teaching efficiency is loss of interest due to "staleness" or the failure of teachers to come under the stimulating influences of a new environment, new movements, or new ideas. To offset this, we suggest the adoption of a Sabbatical leave based upon the following principles:

- a. A leave after every seven years for study, rest or travel.
- b. Salary deductions to be no greater than the cost of replacement but in no case to exceed half of the teacher's daily wage.

#### A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

A bill creating a department of education was

introduced into the 1925 session of Congress embodying the following principles:

1. The creation of a secretary of education, who is to be a member of the Cabinet possessing the usual powers.

2. The transfer to the Department of Education of the work now being done by the Bureau of Education as well as the control of the administrative functions usually assigned to this bureau.

3. A provision for appropriations to carry out the research work entrusted to the department and so essential to educational advance.

4. The creation of an inter-departmental conference which would make it possible for the war department to spread its propaganda through educational channels.

The American Federation of Teachers reaffirms its support of the first three principles and congratulates the American Federation of Labor for its firm adherence to them. *We desire to voice our most emphatic opposition to any military influence in our educational affairs or to any attempt to interfere, by national legislation, with the principles of local educational autonomy.* The Legislative Committee recommends the continued support of Senate Bill No. 291 which embodies our principles of limiting the work of the Department of Education to research work which is so indispensable to the educational departments of the states and to the country as a whole.

#### PATRIOTEERS

In the admirable survey of the national legislative situation our legislative representative emphasized the reason for the failure of Congress to enact sound progressive legislation. This was due largely to the spirit of intolerance engendered since the outbreak of the World War by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Key Men of America, the American Defense Society, the Daughters of 1812, the National Defense Society, the American Legion and others. These organizations have capitalized the spirit of intolerance for selfish anti-social purposes. With an arrogance that is unsurpassed in the annals of our political history these organizations followed the stereotyped method of stigmatizing all humanitarian legislation as un-American, subversive of the Constitution, pacifistic, paternalistic, socialistic or communistic, as if these terms were synonymous.

For instance, the Spider Web Chart, prepared in the office of General Amos Fries, head of the chem-

ical warfare section of the War Department, attempted to prove that organizations supporting the Child Labor Amendment are communistic. And this chart was distributed under a government frank by General Fries until the pressure of an outraged public opinion forced the Secretary of War to repudiate it largely because of its inaccuracies. This and other instances that might be cited, show how unprincipled, unscrupulous and brazen are these pseudo-patriotic but un-American societies.

These organizations, arrogating to themselves the right to dictate what constitutes patriotism, by substituting distortions, perversions and even lies for facts, have attempted to blacken the names of America's foremost humanitarian leaders such as Jane Addams, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Rose Schneiderman and a host of others. *Great indeed must be the regret of genuine patriots and lovers of American idealism to find that these misrepresentations have influenced the unwary or unthinking to oppose as subversive, legislation for the protection of childhood and motherhood—legislation which has the endorsement of leaders of vision of all political faiths and of men who hold the highest office within the gift of the American electorate.*

The A. F. of T. notes with sorrow the loss of equilibrium of the American people as evidenced by the growing spirit of intolerance abroad in the land. We regret the cowardly attempts that are being made to discredit socially necessary legislation by sowing hatred, suspicion and distrust. In our humble judgment, *America is not and cannot be menaced by "red radicalism" because Americans are too loyal and too devoted to their democratic traditions and because these subversive doctrines are contrary to the fundamental ideals of the American people and of organized labor in particular.*

America has a glorious future which is, however, seriously menaced by those "super-patriots" and pseudo-patriotic organizations which see "red" or which see the "hand of Moscow" in every piece of worthy legislation or in every attempt to bring nations together through the elimination of war—a relic of barbarism. Such conduct can only result in making meritorious legislation synonymous with "red radicalism and communism," thus defeating the social ends they profess to serve. *We hope the teachers of America will do their part in helping to restore social sanity so that tolerance and brotherhood may play their part in winning for America a place of*

*leadership in the struggle to bring about an international brotherhood of nations.*

In closing our legislative report we desire to direct the attention of our members to a brief survey of the achievements of our locals in helping to actualize our program. We note with pleasure not only some striking victories but, what is almost as important, the preparation of bills embodying features of our program and their introduction into the various state legislatures. Probably the most significant victories were the establishment of tenure laws in (a) Minnesota, where teachers in cities of the first class now receive protection; and (b) in California where all teachers were given security of tenure in place of localities with seven or more teachers.

The efforts to secure protection against old age were signalized by the victory of the Illinois teachers who secured the passage of the voluntary retirement bill, by the amendment of the New York Pension Law providing a pension based upon the average salary earned during the last five instead of the last ten years; and by the launching of a campaign by the teachers of Minnesota for a state-wide pension law which will be on a sound actuarial basis. In the state of Wisconsin, our teachers successfully resisted all efforts to undermine their pension law.

The movement for a Sabbatical leave is slowly gaining headway. The Minneapolis teachers won a signal victory, while a satisfactory form of a Sabbatical Leave is now in operation in New York City and in New Jersey. In California the teachers have begun their campaign for a law embodying the principles of our program. Their previous bill had passed both houses but was unfortunately vetoed by the governor. Both in the District of Columbia and in Georgia the question will be carefully considered during the coming year.

In the struggle to achieve salaries adequate to the service being rendered by our profession, the teachers of New York City secured additional state aid amounting to \$16,500,000 for 1928 and additional appropriations of \$5,500,000 each year for three additional years. The Atlanta teachers not only secured a new wage scale but were very successful in preventing a threatened reduction due to a financial shortage brought about by improper financing. In addition, the teachers of Chicago are to be congratulated for having brought about the defeat of the tax bill which menaced sound school financing and proposed salary increases.

This brief survey of the effects of our locals is indicative of the growing power and group consciousness of our members and their success in winning in an increased degree public support for the social legislative program of the American Federation of Teachers. We urge our locals to inaugurate educational and legislative campaigns along the lines laid down in the report. We trust that the 1928 convention will have so many gains to record that the Legislative Committee will find it difficult to summarize them. Let us then take our part in the economic, social and political life of the communities in which we live to the end that our profession may win the place of leadership to which it is entitled.

#### LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Abraham Lefkowitz, New York No. 5,

Chairman.

Hilma Anderson, Portland No. 111

Mary C. Barker, Atlanta No. 89.

W. M. Fishback, Sacramento H. S. No. 31

Mollie Geary, St. Paul Women No. 28

Mrs. Florence Hall Kirkpatrick, Chicago  
Women No. 3

Mary E. McGough, St. Paul Women No. 28

James A. Meade, Chicago Men No. 2

#### OPENING ADDRESS

(Continued from Page 9)

Federation of Teachers and I think we have some prospects for the future in pulling us out of the morass in which we now find ourselves.

If we can lift ourselves out of the intellectual doldrums into which we have sunk we have accomplished the best that can be accomplished for the present good of America. I wish you success in your deliberations. I do not need to pledge to you our faith in boldness of action. You are accustomed to action of a kind that is practical and at the same time far-seeing and I would almost say bold in its outlook. I wish I could remain with you and listen and get the inspiration that will come from the frank consideration of questions that are often not discussed in the outside world, not discussed in the N. E. A. and not discussed in other educational organizations, things that are not discussed in newspapers and not discussed very much in any other body. Possibly this is a delegate body and maybe a rank outsider wouldn't be allowed, but the spirit of support of the Liberal Club of Chicago and the other groups with which I am associated, will be with you in these considerations and deliberations.



## The Report of the Legislative Representative

*To the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers:*

Your legislative representative wants you to consider legislation not merely as that bill or this measure, but legislation as a most important manifestation of a functional democracy.

During the last year our fight—and it has been a fight—has been not so much to get a bill through Congress as it has been to try in some way to help the citizens of the United States realize from whom and for what purpose attacks have been made on certain measures.

The war made cowards of many of us; the war removed what equilibrium many of us possessed. Restrictions of all sorts were enacted. Everything not meeting with the approval of those in power was condemned as pro-German—condemned, ostracised, cast out—as was done to Lindbergh's father.

And then after this came the Red terror. And that is with us still. Surely we trade unionists need not tell one another the menace of communism. We know it; hence we fight the real communists; fight them with a real thoroughness; oppose their destructive tactics in every way. But we have a menace almost as great as the Reds. They are the see-Reds and the show-Reds.

The Child Labor Amendment is today not ratified because of maliciously false propaganda.

Attacks have been made and are being made on all the organizations supporting:

First: A decent industrial program.

Second: A program calling for humanitarian relations among the nations as well as among men; and

Third: A measure making possible the advancement and power of true education.

Let us analyze the opposition. It is not a simple direct something. We have few opponents in the open who frankly admit why they are fighting the measures in which we believe and who frankly admit why they seek to have unsocial restrictions enacted. For a number of years there has been a peculiar alliance between certain groups which apparently have nothing in common except their desire to retard progress. It is not surprising therefore to find the most vituperative attack on social legislation come from former anti-suffragists. In fact, as far back as 1915, the anti-suffrage publication, *The Woman's Protest*, printed an article under the heading, "The Indissoluble Alliance—Suffragism,

Socialism, Feminism."

When woman's suffrage was won, most of the women who had opposed the enfranchisement of their sex, assumed their new responsibilities, even though they had not sought them. A small group however, continued to attack not only the leaders of the woman's suffrage movement, but the measures which the organized women of America sought to obtain. *The Woman Patriot*, the successor to *The Woman's Protest*, continued and still continues its attack upon social legislation sponsored by the organized women of America. However, there is a very apparent, definite working co-operation between *The Woman Patriot* and certain manufacturing interests. The official publication of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts and the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association have printed the speech by Mrs. Lilla May Monroe of Kansas, which sought to show that women's clubs were used by Bolsheviks. The material used by Mrs. Monroe appeared originally in *The Woman Patriot* of September 1 and 15, 1922, and was reprinted as a pamphlet entitled "Organizing Revolution Through Women and Children," and was quoted in Ford's *Dearborn Independent* of March 15 and March 22, 1924 in articles which bore the titles, "Are Women's Clubs Used by Bolsheviks?" and "Why Don't Women Investigate Propaganda?" *The Associated Industries of Kentucky* on April 10 and April 24, 1924, reprinted the *Dearborn Independent* articles.

The magazine *Industry*, later called *Industrial Progress*, formerly published in Washington and edited by two former editors of the official magazine of the National Manufacturers' Association, Henry Harrison Lewis and Frederic W. Keough, expressed (September 15, 1920) its disappointment at the industrial program adopted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs at the Biennial Convention in Des Moines in June, 1920. On April 15, May 1 and May 15, 1921, it deplored the Industrial Program of the Young Women's Christian Association. In July, 1922, *Industrial Progress* quoted from an article in *The Woman Patriot* under the heading "The Women's Third International." In August, 1922, it quoted again from *The Woman Patriot* and inquired "Is America Facing a Slacker Movement?" In 1924 there appeared a laboriously manufactured

"spider-web chart" which listed many of the organizations working for the Child Labor Amendment and the Federal Department of Education under the caption "The Socialist Pacifist Movement in America is an Absolutely Fundamental and Integral Part of International Socialism." It was a chart which had been prepared in the office of General Amos Fries, who is in charge of the Chemical Warfare section of the United States Army. Not only was this chart prepared by a subordinate in General Fries' office but it was later distributed from that office under government frank. The representatives of the organizations attacked in this chart protested to the Honorable John W. Weeks, at that time Secretary of War, with the result that the following letter was received by the chairman of the committee:

"War Department.

Washington.

"With reference to the letter from your Committee, dated April 2, 1924, complaining of the injustice done your organization by the circulation of a chart by a subordinate in the War Department, you are informed that all the charts complained of in the possession of the Chemical Warfare Service, have been ordered destroyed. General Fries has been directed to inform all persons to whom these charts have been distributed from his office that there are errors in the chart and to request their destruction.

I regret that charts containing the errors pointed out by your Committee were circulated by any branch of the War Department.

Very sincerely,

JOHN W. WEEKS,  
Secretary of War."

In reply refer to G-1-6410

Although this chart has been officially repudiated by the War Department and the subordinate of the Department under whose direction it was compiled has been ordered to inform those who received copies of the chart that it is incorrect, this chart and the material contained in it is still being quoted by those who oppose the Child Labor Amendment, Federal Department of Education and the Shepherd-Towner Infancy and Maternity Act.

I am referring to some of the attacks which have been made in the past, because the same attacks from the same sources are still being made. On July 8, 1926, Senator Thomas F. Bayard had put into the Congressional Record one of the most libelous attacks on women's organizations supporting the maternity and infancy act that could possibly have been made. This attack was presented to Congress by the Board of Directors of the Woman Patriot Publishing Company. Of this, the editor of *The Woman Patriot* says: "Not only the Maternity Act, but the origin, object, nature, methods and leadership of the Communist Conspiracy for Revolution in

America, through acts of pretended legislation for 'women and children,' 'labor,' and the 'farmer' is the subject of the Petition to the Senate . . . . . This brings to the fore another question with which we as citizens must concern ourselves. We recognize the need of congressional immunity, that is, we feel that a member of Congress should be free at any time to discuss any question on the floor of Congress as he deems best. However, there are some members of this body who have said things on the floor of Congress which were they said under other circumstances and on other occasions would lay the speakers open to a libel suit. I refer particularly to the unscrupulous, untruthful attacks of Senator Bayard of Delaware, Congressman Blanton of Texas and Congressman Sinsofsky of Michigan. These men have used the Congressional Record as their medium for attacking you at your expense.

I feel that, first of all, it is necessary for us to see that our own members are informed not only of the value of the measures which we support, but that they are ready at all times to answer these foul opponents who resort to unfair tactics at every stage of the fight. It behooves each one of you to inform his congressman and his senator that when your organization is attacked on the floor of Congress that you consider it his duty as well as yours to see that the untruthful attack is answered and the truth told. It is necessary that we continue in our fight with renewed vigor and that we try to clear the air so that all of our time need not be taken up in a negative fight, but that much of it can be given to securing positive betterment.

Of the measures before the Federal Congress which I wish to call to your attention, I place first the creation of a Federal Department of Education. I repeat that we must be very careful that the bill is drafted and worded in such a way as to guarantee to the sovereign states absolute autonomy in educational administration; that the Department be a fact finding research organization which could coordinate information from public and private sources for the good of all. We must be equally careful to make sure that in this bill there be no provision which would lend itself to a misrepresentation or a misinterpretation of the functions of this Department. I have in mind particularly a section which appears in the Curtis-Reed bill, as at present drafted, which proposes to create a Federal Council on Education. Such a council, it seems to me, would not have to be created by statutory action, but could

more flexibly function were it (when it be deemed necessary to create such a body) created by Executive order. A council created by statute becomes permanent and its findings and announcements are apt to be regarded as official and final. Such a council, I fear, could easily develop into a source of propaganda, which propaganda would be particularly serious, for while it would, in fact, be but the opinion of a particular departmental representative at the Council, it would be regarded as the official opinion of the government on educational matters. I therefore again recommend opposition to section 7 of the Curtis-Reed bill as at present drafted, but ask that we reaffirm our position in favor of the creation of a Federal Department of Education for research.

I recommend that in keeping with our policy opposing any legislative restrictions on academic freedom, that we oppose any bill such as the Connery Bill, introduced in the last session of Congress, which sought to have Congress determine the accuracy of content matter in history textbooks, and which we are told will be reintroduced. I think that we may take a just pride in noting that the American Federation of Teachers was the only educational organization opposing this measure at the last Congress. It is also interesting to know in this connection, that during the hearings on this question, the army chaplain, who so earnestly sought the enactment of this measure, pointed out how wicked some of our schools are becoming, in that (he knows this, he says, as a matter of fact) in some cases the functions of the League of Nations are being taught.

I recommend that we continue to support measures asking adequate appropriations for the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. We have at all times found these two bureaus to be tremendously helpful to us when we need accurate information, and we feel that their social value is tremendous.

I have been informed that a measure similar to the Welsh bill which proposes to deny the use of government funds to any educational institution where military training is compulsory will be reintroduced. I recommend that we continue to support any measure embodying this principle.

While we recognize that the ratification of an all-inclusive arbitration treaty with France such as Briand has proposed will very likely be a matter of the somewhat distant future, I feel that the principle embodied in such a proposal is of such tremendous

value that it behooves us to start even now when the goal is still remote to do the necessary educational work which the eventual ratification of such a treaty may demand.

I recommend that we reaffirm our position in support of the ratification of the Poison Gas Protocol. This measure was favorably reported by the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate and had the active support of General John J. Pershing, who commanded our expeditionary forces during the war. However, no sooner had this measure been reported out of committee when a terrific opposition to it arose. In spite of the fact that General Pershing ardently supported it and that many men from the service endorsed it, Mr. John Taylor, legislative representative of the American Legion, organized a tremendous attack on it with the result that Senator Borah was forced to have the measure referred back to the committee in order to prevent its defeat on the floor. I do not attack Major Taylor, but I do commend to your attention the opinion of Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, a founder of the American Legion and at present one of its most active members, who on the floor of the United States Congress deplored the fact that the attack on this measure in the name of the Legion should come from Major Taylor who is himself the treasurer of the chemical manufacturing concern which sells chemicals to the government and which feels perhaps that its sales would be affected by the ratification of this treaty.

During the last Congress, the bill presented by us for the creation and appointment of educational attaches was introduced. The sponsor of the bill, Mr. Henry Allen Cooper of Wisconsin, one of the loftiest idealists and one of the finest, most brilliant characters ever to be a member of the United States Congress, has advised us and is advising us on how to proceed. With a man like Mr. Cooper sponsoring the measure for us and with the assurance that we may, at any time, and at all times, have his advice and support, I feel nothing more can be said on this measure at this time.

Inasmuch as the Federal Congress legislates for the District of Columbia, I recommend endorsement of the following projects of interest to Washington: First: The enactment of a measure providing for free textbooks for Washington school children in all parts of the system. Second: The enactment of legislation providing for Sabbatical year for Wash-

(Continued on Page 30)



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## INVOCATION

By MAX EASTMAN

*Truth, be more precious to me than the eyes  
Of happy love; burn hotter in my throat  
Than passion; and possess me like my pride;  
More sweet than freedom; more desired than joy;  
More sacred than the pleasing of a friend.*

## TEACHERS' UNIONS—WHY?

Teachers being as they are, are more influenced by what they can give than by what they can get. The social significance of the union movement reaches out and claims them. It is indeed true that to no other organized body of citizenry than Organized Labor can the teachers turn for help in their economic and social problems, for so sympathetic an analysis of the situation. But beyond that is the gratitude for what Labor has done for education and the recognition of the labor movement as a great social movement—a constructive movement for social betterment—a movement in the interest of the humanization of life—the most vital in the world today.

Organized Labor has a splendid record in the development of our public schools. Organized Labor was the major instrumentality in establishing the public school system. One hundred years ago the courageous and far-seeing advocacy of free education by Labor was responsible in a large part for the establishment of our system of public education. Not to the humanitarian leaders with Horace Mann at their head, but to the growing class of wage

earners, are we indebted for our tax supported schools.

The spirit of social idealism, social consciousness, vision, bring the teacher into the labor movement. Labor offers its co-operation in working out problems and in carrying through plans for the achievement of higher levels of excellence for all groups. It is an integrating, not a disruptive force in society. It is the self-conscious organized expression of the workers' struggle for their own welfare and for the public welfare. It represents the social idealism of a large number of our fellow citizens with whom we teachers as workers have much in common, who are walking forward, facing the future, instead of walking backward, looking into the past. Labor believes in brotherhood, in democracy, in humanity. It sets itself against all forms of oppression and human degradation and arrays its strength against the enemies of mankind that it may achieve social justice for all.

But how can the teachers contribute to the great labor movement? What return does organized labor expect from the teachers? Teachers and labor alike are determined to free the schools of special propaganda. What does labor expect in return for its admittedly powerful support? What can the teacher give?

For one thing, labor believes, rightly or wrongly, that the trained intelligence of the teachers should be able to make a contribution to the solving of vexed social and economic, as well as educational problems. They can bring to the labor struggle intellectual balance and penetration. They can help to give to those struggles a direction that is unflinchingly social. The teachers have the heavy responsibility of showing that the vaunted value of their education is not overrated, when faced with the living problems of this difficult period. For the first time the teachers have the opportunity, not merely to teach history, more or less ancient, and indirectly to influence future history, but actively to assist in the making of current history. They are enabled to come into first hand contact with the economic, civic, and social conditions for which they are supposed to be preparing their pupils.

Teachers' unions not in expectation of great economic rewards, but in the hope of being a part of a great movement for making this world a better place in which to live!

There is a necessary limit to our achievement, but none to our attempt.

## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

27

## STARTING THE SCHOOL YEAR RIGHT

By Ambrose L. Subrie, Professor of Teachers' College and Normal School Education, New York University.

## I. BEGINNING PUPILS

With the opening of the new school year several millions of children will enter for the first time the nearly 800,000 classrooms of the public schools of America. It is a matter of far-reaching importance that they should be well received by their teachers, that they should be properly classified and adjusted to the school organization in which they are to work and that they should be made happy in their new environment.

Every well-trained teacher accepts responsibility for doing everything in her power to create in her classroom at all times and especially at the opening of the school year such a spirit of good will as to make every student feel happy and contented with his associates and satisfied with the social environment in which he must do his daily work.

George Dooley once said (and I quote him in the vernacular) : "When you're gittin' edicated it don't matter what you study gist so you don't like it." Until twenty-five years ago there was a prevailing belief that school work must of necessity be full of unpleasant tasks and unhappy experiences.

But times have changed. We now think of a school as a place where young people come together happily to educate themselves and each other with the help of good teachers. We no longer consider a school successful in the fulfillment of its mission unless children and teachers are happy in their work. Teachers are no longer taskmasters or timekeepers. We think of a good teacher as a comrade, as one in whose presence individual effort and group co-operation are easy and natural. We think of her as a foreman who can create worthy ideals, right attitudes and permanent life interests, who knows how to promote co-operation and to develop the team spirit, who as an expert workman herself is able to direct the efforts of others to successful achievements.

Almost every child who early in the first year of his school career gets properly adjusted to such an organization and in each succeeding year comes under the influence of such teacher is reasonably sure to succeed. It is a matter of supreme importance that all of the millions who enter our schools for the first time this fall should get a good start under teachers who know how to promote joy in co-operative endeavor.

## II. BEGINNING TEACHERS

With the opening of the new school year about 120,000 teachers will enter for the first time upon the work of instruction in American public schools. It is likewise a matter of far-reaching importance that they should be well received by their fellow teachers of experience, by their principals, by their supervisors, by their superintendents, and by the communities in which their work is to be done.

Every well-trained and efficient principal accepts responsibility for doing everything in his power to create in his building at all times and especially at the opening of the year such a dynamic manifestation of the spirit of helpfulness as to make the new teacher on his staff—and especially the beginner—feel thoroughly at home in the happy comradeship of a group of congenial professional associates. The really successful principal is one who can quickly and completely win for his organization the professional loyalty of all who join his instructional staff. There is an element of tragedy in the way in which, and the speed with which, some otherwise efficient principals lose the confidence of beginning teachers.

The writer has, in the course of many years, enjoyed the professional confidence of thousands of normal school graduates. Scores and scores of them have told him of their heartaches at the beginning of their teaching experience, occasioned by the failure of the principals, supervisors and superintendents to manifest any appreciation of their difficulties, or even to give them credit for worthy motives and painstaking endeavor.

The principal should take great care to give his new teachers, and especially his beginning teachers, such assignments as will tend to insure their success from the first day. And he should lose no chance to speak a word of encouragement whenever possible. The supervisor should go out of her way to bring some real assistance and commendation to the beginner as early in the term as possible. The superintendent should be especially soliticious about the welfare, the happiness and the success of the beginner. About one-sixth of all our teachers in any given year are beginners. It is a matter of the utmost importance that they should all get a good start under the most favorable circumstances and that they should, from the beginning, be made to feel at home with their experienced comrades and their superior officers in the profession.

Hold by the right; double your might.

## Federation Leaders Endorse the Weekly News Review

Many members of the American Federation of Teachers are using the Weekly News Review in their classes as a text for the study of current history, and they have expressed appreciation of its fair-minded and liberal attitude on the issues of American life. Here are some of the comments that have come to us:

From E. E. Schwartztrauber, Lincoln High School, Portland, Oregon; Vice President, American Federation of Teachers:

"For the first time in all my experience with current events magazines for history students, I have found what I want. The Weekly News Review is a challenge to open-minded study of national and international problems. Well-written articles on vital issues—as many as students can digest in a week, thought-provoking editorials, timely magazine reviews and excellent monthly tests make the Weekly News Review ideal."

These comments came to us during last year's use of the paper. This year we are making marked improvements. We have established a Research Bureau for the use of our subscribers; we have added two supplementary pages in which we explain in simple terms the business, industrial and labor developments, describe problems of various cities and localities and furnish suggestions and bibliographies to students engaged in the Constitution oratorical contests. We also make a very attractive magazine offer. The subscription price is the same as before; a dollar a year or fifty cents a semester for clubs and \$1.20 a year for single copies. Write for samples.

**WEEKLY NEWS REVIEW, Lock Box 1915, Washington, D. C.**

From Mr. Charles B. Stillman, Lane Technical High School, Chicago, former President, American Federation of Teachers:

"I am still finding your paper by far the best current events periodical for class room use I have ever run across."

From Miss Lucile W. Allen, Lakeview High School, Chicago, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers:

"I am liking the paper more and more. Other teachers are speaking highly of it to me. The clear presentation of differing views, the occasional daring, the explanation of involved situations have pleased the children and have stimulated thought."

### THE AMERICAN LEGION AND FREE SPEECH

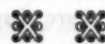
A new tendency in the ranks of the American Legion toward "old-fashioned" constitutional American free speech is revealed in an article by Rupert Hughes in the July issue of the American Legion Monthly and in an editorial by William Allen White of the Emporia Gazette, quoted in the same issue.

Commenting on the action of the Legion of Emporia in refraining from interfering with an address in that town by a young militant pacifist, an ex-soldier, Mr. White says in part:

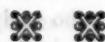
... "The fine thing about the Legionnaires in Emporia is that without threat, without hindrance, without the slightest disturbance from the men who disagreed with him, this young militant pacifist spoke his piece, said his say, declared his creed, presented his argument, and went his way from Emporia to the next town.

"Free speech is one of the American guarantees of the American constitution. Sometimes it is hard to keep the guarantee but it is always imperative to keep it and the Gazette desires to tip a respectful hat to the Legion boys of Emporia."

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## REPORT OF LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE

(Continued from Page 25)

ington teachers. Third: The naming of a school in the District of Columbia for Samuel Gompers.

Federal legislation, to be sure, constitutes but a small part of our legislative program. Our most active locals and our national office must continue to give support to our fellow workers in states which are not so well organized, whenever and wherever the need arises. In view of the fact that the tendency to curb by legislative action the personal freedom of the teacher and the academic freedom of the school is so widespread, we must concern ourselves with this question. We must do more than merely regret the fact that since the war there have been over 300 legislative restrictions on academic freedom enacted. We must educate the public on the seriousness of such a condition and make them realize how such actions curb not only their personal freedom, but the freedom of all future generations.

Particularly significant are these negative restrictive legislative acts when we realize the crying need for positive constructive action. Do you realize the large number of states in the Union which actually do not have compulsory attendance laws? There are

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21 states which exempt children from school attendance if they live too far away from a school. There are 13 states which exempt a child from attendance at school if, for one reason or another, he is deemed too poor to attend. Less than one third of the states at present provide for a school census. Out of 150 cities, covering every state in the union survey, only 28 per cent grant free textbooks to the pupils. Positive constructive legislation is needed. Direct the attention of your legislators thereto. That, it seems to me, is the best answer in our fight against restrictive legislation.

The Washington office is only too glad to assist any of the locals in any of their legislative work and hopes that the locals will use it.

Respectfully submitted,

SELMA M. BORCHARDT,

Legislative Representative American Federation of Teachers.

#### FEDERAL AID FOR THE SCHOOLS

Our legislative representative is at present gathering and compiling data showing the effect of the Mississippi floods on the schools of the area affected.

The children of the nation are the nation's greatest concern. Let not the politicians, who may wish to make general aid to the distressed people of this area a matter of politics, deny the children their rights to school.

The American Federation of Teachers feel that the federal government must and surely will help.

The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause that we deem to be just.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

Dear Editor:

Your readers will, I think, be interested to know of a One Day Conference on "Parent Education" in New York City at the Hotel Pennsylvania, Wednesday, November 2, 1927, under the auspices of the Child Study Association of America, Inc.

The morning session will be devoted to the discussion of the Family and the Foundation of Character, with an introduction by Mrs. Howard S. Gans, the president of the Association. Dr. Will Russell, Dean, Teachers' College, Columbia University, will be chairman of this session. Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, director of the Child Study Association, will speak on How Parents Establish Standards and Ideals; Dr. Lawson G. Lowery, director of the Institute of Child Guidance, on The Parent's Part in Sex-Social Guidance; Dr. Porter Lee, director, New York School of Social Work, will discuss Parents and the Use of Leisure.

There will be a luncheon session at which The Home's Unconscious Influence on Individual Failure and Success will be taken up. Dr. Harry D. Kitson, professor of education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, will speak on Home Situations as Sources of Conflict, and the Need for Vocational Guidance and Adjustment.

The program for the evening session is Opportunities for Parents in Creative Citizenship; How Parents Can Determine the Character of Public Education by Frederick V. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York; How Social and Economic Limitations of the Existing Home Affect Its Function in the Community by Dr. Ernest R. Groves, Professor of Social Science at Boston University; and the Parent's Contribution to the Child's Social Adjustment by Dr. Arthur H. Ruggles, Superintendent of the Butler Hospital, Providence, R. I.

Yours very truly,

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## LOCAL NEWS

The Chicago Federation of Men Teachers and the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers published in September, a very interesting eight-page bulletin dealing with the hectic Chicago situation.

These locals will have a joint dinner at the Men's City Club the evening of October 28. The principal speaker will be Peter Manniche, founder of the International Folk School, Helsingør, Denmark, and the subject is International Education.

Abraham Lefkowitz, New York Local No. 5, attended the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor in Syracuse, August 23-25, and served on the Committee on Education.

Mary C. Barker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, is in Los Angeles at the convention of the American Federation of Labor as a delegate of the Atlanta, Ga., Trades Council.

Our secretary-treasurer, Florence Curtis Hanson, is the delegate of the American Federation of Teachers at the American Federation of Labor convention which opened in Los Angeles October 3.

Mrs. Hanson will visit locals in Fresno, San Francisco, Sacramento, Vallejo, and Portland. She will stop in Seattle and will visit Denver, Colorado, and several places in Wyoming.

James A. Meade, Beulah Berolzheimer and Florence Curtis Hanson represented their locals at the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in East St. Louis, September 12-17. They served on the committee on schools. Mrs. Hanson visited the locals in Murphysboro, Collinsville and Granite City during the week.

Dr. Ambrose L. Suhrie of New York University, who was tendered the presidency of the Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville, will continue his work at New York University at the head of the division which is devoted to the training of

administrative officers and teachers for the normal schools and teachers colleges of the United States and as chairman of the committee in charge of the regional conference of normal school and teachers college officers and teachers which is held annually at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, in the month of April.

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT ELEVENTH CONVENTION

WHEREAS, It would strengthen and improve the organization work of the American Federation of Teachers by increasing the contact between the national office and the locals; and

WHEREAS, Information of local situations is imperative for effective work by the national office;

BE IT RESOLVED, That all local organizations be required to select a member of its governing board, committee, or council, whose duty it shall be to keep the national office regularly informed on such activities and situations as the national secretary shall request, and the governing board shall direct or approve.

## DR. HART GOES TO WISCONSIN

Dr. Joseph K. Hart, author of "Adult Education," "Light from the North," "Democracy in Education," and other well-known educational works, has accepted a professorship of education in the University of Wisconsin, with special reference to the study of the problems of adult education in that state.

Dr. Hart took over the duties as head of his department at the closing of the fall term. The invitation was extended him by President Glenn Frank. Dr. Hart has acted as educational editor of The Survey, and has travelled both as an observer and lecturer to summer sessions of the larger universities, both North and South, at home and abroad.

Dr. Hart has long been an active member of the American Federation of Teachers.

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